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men could not afford to gather in too large numbers. On other other hand, wealthier men often had a number of tipis, and their feminine entourage might thus have been of considerable size. 595 [556]

It is obvious that many opportunities were present for the growth of hostility between the wives, and fights appear to have been not uncommon.[12] The husband usually did not interfere, but left it to some of the wives' relatives or some other influential person. None but the favorite wife would come to the husband with grievances against another, as he was not likely to be very sympathetic.

Siblings-in-law. Of all the members of her husband's family a woman is likely to be most intimate with his sister. As we have seen before, he frequently left his wife with his sister when he went off on raiding parties; whether this was more common than leaving her with his brother is not clear, but one certainly gets such an impression. In this situation, the sister had pretty complete authority over the wife, at least as far as her relations with other men were concerned, but the usual pattern was of friendliness and mutual help, coupled with a certain amount of mild joking if they felt like it. 607

Brothers-in-law frequently felt a strong bond, and were likely to seek each other's company and aid in preference to any but their own brothers. This is doubtless closely connected with the recognized custom of men giving their sisters to their friends as wives. Brothers-in-law are expected to joke a great deal together, the jokes being insulting, personal, and often coarse. The words for spider, *tatê?cɪ*, and for tarantula, *pɪ'hĭre?cɪ*, are recognized to mean "someone's brother-in-law" and "hairy brother-in-law" respectively, while common pharses substituted for this relationship term are given as "our testiçles" and "our smell of dog urine." Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely. [195] [522]

The dominant pattern of behavior between siblings-in-law of opposite sex is the reciprocal joking relationship so commonly found among Plains tribes. It apparently does not exist among the Shoshoni in just this form, and the existence of the two terms for denoting this relationship among the Comanche suggests the intrusion of the custom along with the term, though I have been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe. Repeated questions failed to elicit any preference for the *hâipia* (sibling-in-law of opposite sex) or the spouse term in any given situation, joking or otherwise; they seem to be interchangeable. The genealogies reveal that different individuals with whom the informants joked and generally carried on similar relationships were sometimes called by one, sometimes by the other, and often by both terms. However, although the spouse terms are often used in joking too, there is no doubt that the joking *relationship* was on the basis of their being each other's *hâipia*. Thus there was some feeling that it was not quite right for husband and wife,

[12] Catlin (1845, Vol. 2, pp. 64–5) found such fights to be among the most striking features of Comanche community life.

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607 who do not use this term, to joke in quite the same way, while TY, whose first husband's older brother was "mean," never joked with him and therefore never called him anything but "husband."

Women are usually the initiators of the joking, whether it is physical or verbal. It is not obligatory, however, and if the man consistently becomes annoyed, it is the woman who is considered in the wrong; the characteristic behavior is thus associated only permissively with the relationship. A man may also warn her that she has gone far enough, and she will cease; she is in a rather vulnerable position, as the man may know of some infidelity of hers, and if he should start making a public joke of this, she might get into serious trouble with her husband or brother. A woman is usually counseled by a sister or woman friend against carrying a joke too far, if it is thought that trouble is brewing. It is said that *hâipia's* could take a lot of "ribbing" in the old days, [177] but that now they become annoyed very easily; there is no doubt that the [522] influence of the white man has greatly curtailed the pursuit and enjoyment of "off-color" humor which so characterized some phases of Comanche life. This is especially true of the joking which involved physical contact—pinching, making mock love, and so on—in public.

607 Verbal joking between *hâipia's* most commonly deals with another person 522 with whom the victim is suspected of intriguing; these jokes are not made flagrantly public, but a woman may, for example, use some physical peculiarity of her *hâipia's* suspected mistress as the basis of a special name which she calls him in public, meanwhile taunting him continually in private. He becomes embarrassed and his wife suspicious—she may try to find out to whom this name refers. Practical jokes, or jokes about the victim's physical appearance, do not seem to be usual.

While jokes of this sort may be made between any unrelated man and woman (though the term *hâipia* is never used in this context), the actual relationship provides for the most important outlet for sexual joking between the sexes; the spouse may not like it, but when it is institutionalized, he or she can make little objection. That there is a connection between this joking and the fact that the *hâipia* is one's potential spouse through the levirate or sororate is undeniable; one informant even stated that these relatives went so far as to have actual sexual relations in the old days, and it seems reasonable that this should have been the case.

More distantly or doubtfully related siblings-in-law may act in accordance with the expected patterns or not, according to the individuals' preferences; a couple of examples of the *hâipia* relationship were mentioned before. This joking pattern of behavior may often be followed with striking gusto to the most distant of relatives.

607 The use of the term *nïmï'ârə?*, "our (children's) uncle," as a substitute 195 for *lê'cɪ*, "man's brother-in-law," or *pâhapia'pï'*, "woman's sister-in-law," is not

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very clear. It is apparently a "slang" word which has come into more and more common usage in late years. Most of the old people object to its wide use, and there are few young people who do not recognize that the other forms are more proper, even if they seldom use them. In the old days it was often customary for a young man (especially if a captive) who wished to marry a girl and who approached her brother with gifts, to call him *nĭmi?ara?*, and thus formally admit his desire for the man's sister. As a brave warrior presumably would not have to resort to this somewhat demeaning method of getting a wife, the use of the term is looked upon as being particularly unfortunate by some of the older people. Related to this marriage custom is the use of the term by two friends who cooperated in obtaining women for each other for non-marital purposes. These "sweetheart" liaisons were apt to last for some time, and the women involved often called each other *nĭmi?ára?* also, as well as the more correct sister terms. This seems to be the only possible basis for women's present use of the word, but it is rather tenuous, and certainly "incorrect," even here. While in the marriage situation above the use of the term might be continued for some time between the men concerned, if one of them attained any marked prestige, it was always dropped in favor of the proper usage. The use of the term was somewhat correlated with band membership.

Parents-in-law. There is no mother-in-law tabu among the Comanche, though the general patterns of respect due the parents' generation, and a certain amount of avoidance of overly sexual topics of conversation are proper in dealing with the parents-in-law.

There is such very wide variation in relations with parents-in-law, depending on personality, residence and by whom the marriage was arranged that it is difficult to formulate any all-inclusive statements on the subject. Thus we have cases in which the boy's mother bluntly tells his new wife that they don't like her and don't want her, while others say that a girl's relations with her mother-in-law are among the closest of any, as was the case in TY's first marriage.

In the fairly frequent case of the girl's marriage being arranged by her family, the son-in-law moves in to live with or near them, and relations are generally pretty close, at least superficially. Not only have personality factors already been considered, but it is in the interest of the parents to keep their daughter's husband satisfied, and hence working for them, while he is aware that they can break up the marriage if his behavior is unsatisfactory. Also, he usually hopes to get a second daughter as a wife if he pleases his in-laws. Thus, if there is an argument, they will usually intercede on the boy's side if this is reasonable in the situation. While living together, the boy tends his father-in-law's stock and receives some in return; in the old days, he used also to herd the horses and bring his mother-in-law meat and hides, while she made him especially nice clothes. After two or three years, the husband often had accumulated enough property, either as gifts from his in-laws or through his own